/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise [854] bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijús are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly [135] found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/93 cont./

126 534 783 [301] [239] stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on Plate 6, I, others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar decorated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head, tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll; also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton; from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

177 439 [323]

We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens entrusted to neighbors for their use?

618 732

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photographs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13, I, represents a classic example. The people submitted to everything and called the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[153]

[See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/215 cont./

*191 462 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

[113]

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roasting rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252]

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting
*191 from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought
● 323 to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited
[439] to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakaïrí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakaïrí
[199] expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Parení, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ▬ was the sole bearer of

▬ According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

/215 cont./

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present provide the other tribes with cooking vessels in Guiana, although he says that the Aruak make abundant pots for their own use, but do not dispose of them as trade goods, like the Karaiben. Martius says of the Makuschi, the most populous Karaiben tribe of the Rio Branco area: "All implements of these Indians are neatly and carefully made, the weapons decorated with feathers, and only in pottery are they inferior to the Indians of the coast."

ceramics, also from an artistic point of view, as we shall see.

At first, and before I knew that the peculiar dependency on the Nu-Aruak existed for all tribes, I believed that there happened to be no clay available. This was an error, however. [135] There was suitable clay, not only among the Nahuquá, but also among the Bakaïrí, and the only thing I cannot say /216/ is whether the quality was a degree poorer than among the potter tribes, which, however, is probably of no concern for our problem.*

[312]

* The Bakaïrí were the only ones who fetched good drinking water from a crystal-clear brook; the Nahuquá and, even more, the Mehinakú and Auetó drank from muddy loam pools and stagnant canal water.

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But let us consider another circumstance: the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá had gourds and calabashes, which, on the other hand, were lacking among the potter tribes and which the latter obtained from the Nahuquá, where special care or better soil, I know not, produced splendid fruits for vessels. Finally, if we learn that the Waurá made very attractive pots of exactly the shape and size of the gourd vessels, with imitations of the drawings put on them, that the basic form of the pots is clearly that of the drinking bowl, the gourd, and that the pots as well as the

/216 cont./

*171 gourd bowls were blackened on the inside, we shall understand
● 323 the connection.
415

Originally the Indian pot had nothing to do with cooking
*171 and was merely a substitute for the gourd. The women fetched
194 water in the gourds to the huts or the campsites. How they
323 managed when they had no gourds we see to this day in the little
415 baskets smeared with loam, which are familiar from several tribes. The leaky canoe is also smeared with loam: the body is smeared with loam, the beginning of body painting, and the loam itself is transported in baskets, as we have observed, and that was probably the main thing. If gourds were often not available, the women soon learned to make their loam baskets more solid by a more lavish use of the plastic clay; moreover, they could dispense with the plaited work as soon as they noticed that the dried loam forms were sufficiently resistant by themselves. They set them in the sun or over the fire and thus found the cheapest source of supply for artificial gourds.

The women did not make this discovery, however, until sedentary times; the wife of the roving hunter could not have replaced the gourd with the heavy and breakable pot. Still less could the hunting man have been the inventor of the pot. It is exactly the same situation as for the origin of agriculture.

*171 The pot in the beginning is only a container, like a gourd,
194 or, in certain instances, a basket. When we hear that people
415 are buried in pots, all the associations that we have with our pots come to mind; we think of a sort of cooking pot and are inclined to feel an obscure connection with cremation. Thus it is important to learn that the hunter tribe of the Bororó laid the skeletons of their dead, not in big pots, like Humboldt's Atures, but in feather-decorated basket-bags, so that here, too, the preliminary stage has been preserved.

/217/ Just as gourds were used for drinking and eating, pots
[226] were also used at first for only these purposes. The great number of small and medium-sized pots which we brought back from the Kulisehu are almost all "bowls," not cooking pots. The filtrate

/217 cont./ The Filtrate

#191 194 413 252 of the mandioca mass was boiled in huge pots, but otherwise only a jam of fruits was boiled and occasionally a dish of small fish which were not worth turning on the grill.

#191 194 252 402 Soup meat and meat broth were unknown; the men knew only roasting. One may ask, perhaps, how did they happen to discover roasting? I shall prove in the next chapter that we have here a matter of experience of hunters and men. They set fire to the campo in a circle in order to overpower the animals being pursued, and there they found roasted small animals and found fruits which, though unripe, had been made edible and even tasty by the heat.

Now, since the men and hunters, in their sphere, do not yet know about cooking, boiling or cooking must have been invented in connection with the preparation of plant food. One often sees the women grilling all kinds of small fruits in quantities on the beijú pans. Only in this way does unripe fruit become edible, the crispness gives seeds and nuts greater tastiness. And they also began with the roasting of fruits. The roasting [323] racks of the men for meat and fish, plaited out of climbing plants, let the fruits fall through the meshes; the base again may have been smeared with loam, and from that only a small step was lacking for the earthen frying pan, the subsequent beijú pan. On the other hand, if one wanted to "roast" fruits or roots soaked in water, the vessels filled with these, either natural ones -- the Botokude cooks in bamboo sections -- or artificial ones covered with clay, were set on the fire, and thus one "cooked." Therefore, "cooking with water" was done only by the women!

If the mandioca industry was founded by one tribe whose descendants are still living and are included in the present classification, this was in all probability the Nu-Aruak. On the Schingú they most certainly deserve credit for its introduction, since the preparation of flour without earthen pots and beijú pans is impossible. Even in the northern regions, however, the Aruak are the best flour-workers and have always been the most

/217 cont./

*171 174 252 462 skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Aruak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

174 462 Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture surpassing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with feuds and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations: The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being; just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots; the Indian owes his tasty flour-drink in the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in prehistory), are still preserved intact in the Brazilian culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter vocation of the men, elevates the female sex for this phase of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

[433] The hunter and agriculturalist schema only now comes alive; man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of [323] technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Aruak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path; they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakaïrí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

/241 cont./

into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed; the small holes are bored with the pointed teeth of the dogfish and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are incised with the same teeth, unless one prefers to burn them in with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochoquhi tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body was rubbed and were closed with a stopper. the Bakairi called the fruit pêru. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf. pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruak tribes, and the manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the ornamental aspect of the pots.

Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and purpose. First, the huge mawukîru of the Mehinaku, in which the grated mandioca root was cooked, they had a diameter of almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Aueto, from which their shape and, since a man -- by rights it should have been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear. Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three low clay feet of cylindrical shape and bulging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish, had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centimeters. it was round with rather steep, slightly bulging walls and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

2: Steinen--256 E.D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP7 Waura SP18 Mehinaku

323 not have to build up the walls with thin clay cylinders put on top of one another as is ordinarily described. She smoothed the walls with a piece of gourd, not a stone. She modeled the ornamental edge-projections, which represented the body parts of an animal, and then put them on; she scratched in the eyes and nose with a little bamboo rod. An old broken-out bottom or a beiju pan is popularly taken as a model for the bottom of the pot.

B 191 323 824 The clay is whitish-gray to grayish-yellow. Only the Waurá pots have a pretty, light red clay. The new pot is properly dried in the sun and then turned upside down on a very sooty fire; for that they use the green bark of a campo tree which the Bakairí call kindre, or of the guanandí (Calophyllum) saturated with sticky resin. Thus the pot, like the gourd, is blackened on the inside.

GDO /243/

Chapter X.

I. Drawing.

Origin from the drawing gesture. Descriptive drawing older than artistic drawing. Sand drawings. Pencil drawings. Explanation of the plates. Profile position. Proportions. Number of fingers. Bark drawings.

B 191 201 532 The simplest drawing that we can observe is probably the one directly connected with an explanatory gesture. Just as the native, to demonstrate the sense of hearing, cleverly reproduces the characteristic voice sounds of an animal and is always tempted to do this in connection with any lively narrative, so also, with respect to the sense of sight, he imitates the animal in pose, walk, movement and, for better understanding, draws any peculiar body parts, such as ears, snout, or horns, in the air, or he outlines his own corresponding body part with his hand. The drawing gesture is exactly parallel to the imitation of animal voices. As soon as this procedure is no longer adequate, however,

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four halves, and the hole is surrounded by a fifth central one, as is often the case in the incised designs as well.

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Painting of the pots. On the clay bowls that represent animals, a drawing of the animal is sometimes copied; cf. Figure 87, the lizard pot, in the chapter on ceramic plastic art /see p. 333/. More often the medium-sized and large pots are painted, and, to be sure, on the outer wall, besides on the bottom, with parallel vertical stripes and designs. One sees applied especially often the tattooing lines of the Mehinakú, which go around the shoulder blades on the inside in angles or curves. Plate 15 /see p. 253/ with the large pots shows us this motif on the bottom of the pot in the upper left in an already richer form, in that the curves are not only double, as also occurs in the tattooing itself, /277/ but triple, and are painted with dots between the two inner ones and with serpentine zigzags between the two outer ones. Smaller curves, such as the women have tattooed on their arms, are applied above the center field, which is filled in with color. The pot bottom in the foreground contains a center circle with network and around it the serpentine zigzag as well as a few lines in the direction of the lateral stripes. The drawing is irregular enough to prevent us from seeing it as a "mat," which the Indian woman did not have in mind.

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III. Plastic Representation and Ceramics.

Introduction. Small chain-figures. Straw figures. Loam dolls. Wax figures. Wooden figures (dance birds and fish, mandioca digging-sticks, beijú turners, combs, stools). Pots.

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The art of the Indians in imitating body forms is disproportionately more advanced than that of drawing. From the start, as Ricci also points out with respect to the efforts of children, it has the great advantage that the difficulties of perspective drop away. The parts may be clumsily worked out, but they are in their proper place; it is not necessary to put them in the wrong place in order to show them. Just as in drawing, indeed to a greater extent since the number of motifs is far more considerable,

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[325]

Truma; SP23
SP7 Bacairi SP7
Aueto SP6
Camayura
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
Wauja SP18
Mehinacu

A /288 cont./ In
W the case of all the birds, the supporting boards /Figs. 84 and 85
352 appear here/ of the simple stool, provided with rails, have been
532 retained, except that they are now spread farther apart and are
825 set on the center line of the abdomen. The seat-plate and the supporting boards consist of one piece. The upper surface is extremely carefully smoothed. The measurements of the double vulture, which correspond to those of the others, are as follows: 61 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, 25 centimeters high.

V We found two quadrupeds. Here, too, higher types were
352 chosen. The support boards have been transformed into four legs.
532 Among the Nahuquá we acquired a not very handsome monkey,
825 46 centimeters long, characterized by the ears, nose, and the long horizontal tail. The back had its natural roundness. The animal was /Fig. 86 appears here/ always immediately identified correctly among the other tribes. The most splendid speci-

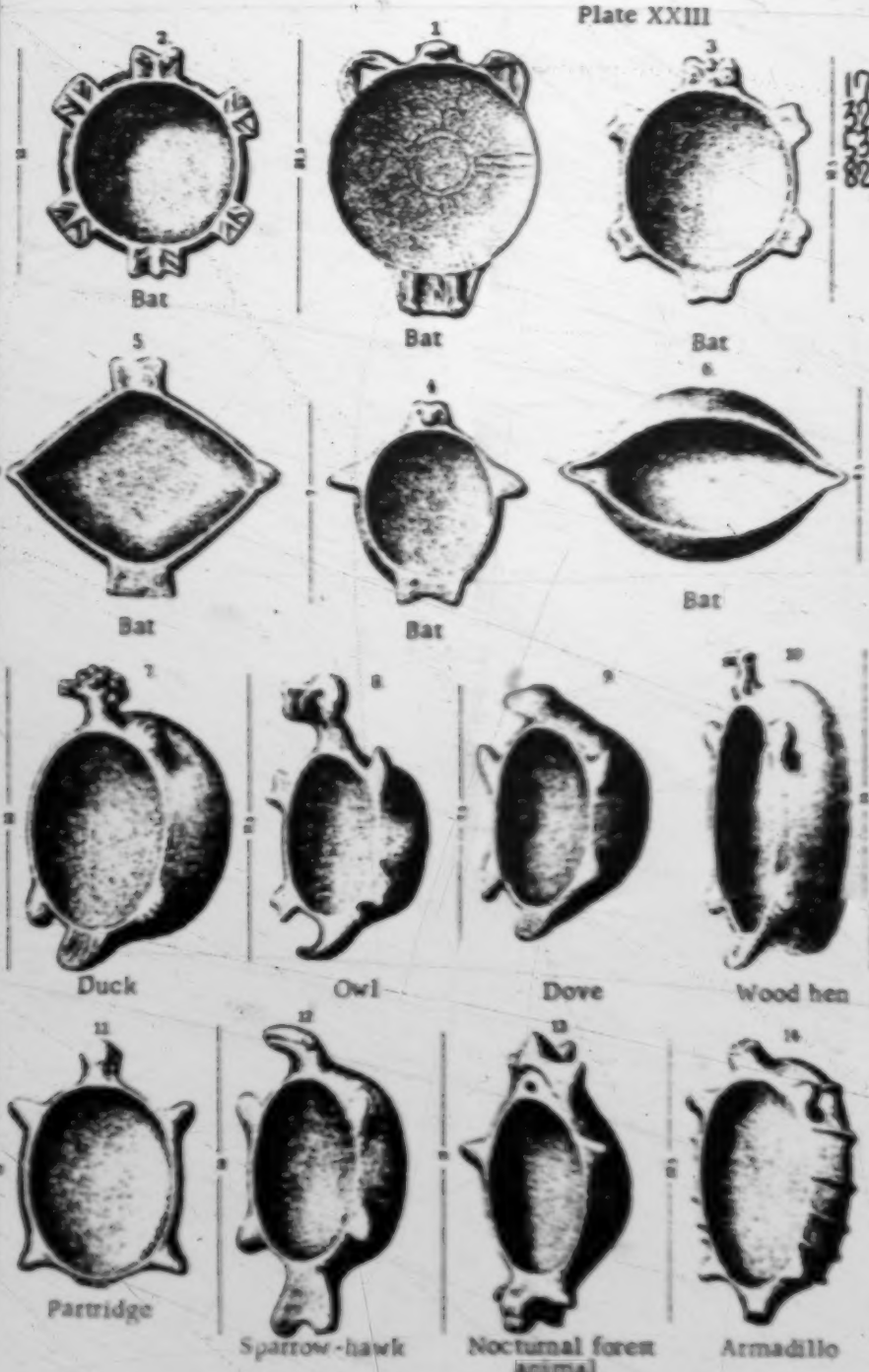
W men of our collection, however, is the jaguar of the Mehinakú,
352 a chunky creature, 90 centimeters long and 18 centimeters wide,
532 /Plates XXIII and XXIV appear here/ /289/ with a clumsy head
825 and a well worked-out neck, a long plate-like back and a long, slightly raised tail. The cat's ears are excellently reproduced, the nose is limited to a vague elevation, the mouth is a wide cross-furrow, and the eyes are a pair of round Unio-shell pieces with a mother-of-pearl sheen.

B Pots. The basic form of the clay bowls (cf. pages 254, 255)
* 191 with which we are exclusively concerned here is, like that of the
● 323 gourd bowls, hemispherical to almost the shape of half an egg. The pots drawn on the two plates 23 and 24 /see pp. 328-329/ are all in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. They come from no particular village, but were made exclusively by Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ women. With the exception of Numbers 25, 26, and 27 of the second plate, all forms are animal motifs. We obtained pot No. 26 among the Mehinakú; it was attributed to the Waurá women, the chief artists of the Nu-Aruak group. It consists of reddish clay, which heightens the similarity to a real gourd bowl, is covered with an attractive mereschu design, and has a string fastened to it. We acquired No. 25, the spiny shell of a forest fruit, from the family of the Yanumakapú-Nahuquá whose

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 330]

2: Steinen--328 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XXIII



Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

2: Steinen--329 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Plate XXIV

Marten

Tick

Sloth

Asellus

Crayfish

Toad

Lizard

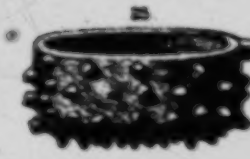
Lagoon fish

Turtle

Cascudo fish

Gourd bowl

Paint pot



Forest fruit

Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

/289 cont./

*171 323 acquaintance we made in the Auetö harbor. No. 27, with the "goblet shape," indented along the edge on the outside, is regarded as a paint pot of the Waurá. Beaker and goblet have not yet penetrated to our Indians; this form, too, has a gourd-bowl motif, which, however, is less to be seen than to be heard. The flat sphere at the bottom is not put on, say, simply for an easier grip, but represents precisely the essential part of the plastic production, a rattle gourd. It harbors on the inside a few small stones or seeds which give off a rather weak rattling sound if one shakes the "goblet."

*171 323 532 825 While these three pots have a free edge, all the others are characterized by a greater or lesser number of projections. These projections, modeled in many different ways, characterize the animal portrayed. Almost everywhere the roundness of the gourd is retained; indeed, it is obvious that this has given direction to the artistic idea. Just as the ordinary, merely crescent-shaped disks of the beijú turners represent the animal body as soon as a handle carved as head and neck is added, so the rounded bowl becomes the animal body when head and limbs are added with the edge-projections. This, then, is a clear and unequivocal history of development. Once the new artistic element has been achieved, it develops with independent freedom, presses on to a variety of forms, and, in the most popular and oft-repeated forms, rapidly deteriorates to stylization.

The most common, by far the most common form of the pot is the one with the bat motif. Apparently Indian sensibility is not guided by our refined considerations of taste. Our ladies would not be agreeably affected if they were obliged to eat out of bats, toads, and ticks; we men, however, can wash our hands in innocence, for it is the women who had these indelicate notions. To do them justice, I am assuming that /290/ they were influenced in their realism by the color and form of the original animals and were led to choose those whose imitation would turn out most favorably for pots. The bat, besides its roundish body, is exactly the color of the clay, and the toad (No. 21), which is likewise not infrequent, turned out excellently in the

/290 cont./

circular, bellied pot. Armadillos and turtles are, indeed, nothing but walking pot-shells and were therefore deemed worthy of the imitation of their shells in the curvature of the pots. The lizard swinging from the hammock by its tied tail, presents itself, as a good domestic animal, for friendly consideration. Finally, there were also several types of caymans and cascudo fish, both armored. The other motifs are unique.

We found and added to our collection the following animals in imitations.

Mammals: Two species of bats (1-6), deer, page 333, squirrel, irara marten (Galictis barbara) (15), sloth (16), little anteater or Tamanduá mirim (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla), armadillo, a small tatú /tatou/ (14), as well as tatú canastra, or giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas), and finally, a nocturnal forest animal that was said to be similar to an armadillo (13).

Birds: White sparrow-hawk (Buteo pterocles) (12), coruja owl (8), dove (9), makuko wood hen (Trachypelmus brasiliensis) (10), inyambú partridge (11), duck (7), and an unidentified flying bird.

Creeping and amphibious animals: trakajá river turtle (Emys tracaxa) (20), kágado turtle (Emys depressa), jabutí forest turtle (Testudo tabulata), cayman, lizard (22), sinimbú or chameleon (Anolis), toad (21).

Fish: cascudo, akará, or armored sheatfish (24), lagoon fish (23), ray.

Insects and lower animals: karapato or tick (Ixodes) (17), crayfish (19), asellus (18).

The most beautiful specimen, the trakajá turtle, No. 20, is really a work of art, not so much because the drawing of the shell is so carefully incised, but because of the extremely felicitous modeling of head, tail, and limbs. The front feet in particular are bent over so pliantly and naturally that one marvels at the talent for form and the gift of observation of the unknown Mehinakú woman. I must say, in her honor, that she copies nature more faithfully than the Berlin sketcher and lithographer did her reproduction.

/290 cont./

* 171 ● 323 532 825 . In the case of some animals one may speak of a direct copy hollowed out rather than of a pot with anatomical structure. For example, the turtle 20, the toad 21, the bat 1, the lizard 22, on which, in the drawing of my cousin, Figure 87 /see p. 333/, the body painting is still visible. The bat is particularly remarkable because of the outspread wing membrane from which the rear extremities are carefully worked out. In /291/ No. 2 the projections are simply incised, the head with the eyes has a couple of lines for the eyes, the other projections have been given two pairs of strokes for the lines of the wing membranes. These strokes may be left out, and one sees merely a six-projection pot and is surprised to hear it called "bat" regularly and among the most diverse tribes. In Nos. 3 and 4 the facial parts are even more precisely portrayed, in No. 3 the tail is broader than the extremity-projections, in No. 4 the legs and the tail are joined inside the wing membrane, as in /Fig. 87 appears here/ No. 1, and not further indicated. Nos. 5 and 6, too, were bats, but it was said they were a different, smaller species than the round six-projection pots. We are immediately reminded of the bat rhombuses drawn by the Bakaïrí, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

In a more careful examination of the pots one will be able to understand, at least to a certain extent, the characteristic feature that differentiates most of them. At least one of the three elements, head, limbs, or tail, is always provided with an identifying "special mark." /Fig. 88 appears here./ In connection with this, the inference per exclusionem is never to be forgotten.

No. 15, the marten-like Galictis, is probably the most difficult to recognize. The snout is more pointed in the original. The sloth, No. 16, is identified by the shape of the head and the position of the four legs at the corners. But it was obviously not easy with the four-footed mammals. For example, the only exception arose among them: a deer (6.5 × 13.5 centimeters in diameter) was set on its legs and the hollow opened in the back. Figure 88 /see p. 333/. The shape of the head, the tail, and the stance permitted even foreign Indians to identify the little pot

/291 cont./

*171 ●323 532 825 immediately as a deer. The happy thought, whic could lead the portrayal into entirely new directions, was notencountered by us in any other example.

In the case of the birds, wing and leg stumps re not differentiated; the feathers are incised in the tail cf. 7 and 12; that of the sparrow-hawk is /292/ indented. The head of the drake, 7, and of the owl, 8, are well characterized;

Fig. 87. Lizard pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shon in the original illustration/.)

in the case of the dove, 9, there is the same hed shape as on the little figures of the neck stones; the sparrowhawk, 12, has a powerful beak, and a nicely formed little ead is set on

Fig. 88. Deer pot. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

the makuku, 10. In the case of the indistinct partridge, 11, the tail is broken off.

Fish were extremely rare. No. 23 has a long tail, the end of which was already broken off when we acquired the pot, but on the journey it lost still another piece. The head shapes of 23 and 24 are similar to the lizard, but they have a peculiar mouth.

/292 cont./

*171 ●323 532 825 The tick, 17, has four knobs on its head, which are probably supposed to represent maxillary feelers and mouth parts. The notched edge is most amusing; it reproduces not at all badly the general impression of the creeping and crawling of the eight crooked legs, which, in the case of animals that have sucked their fill, form a wreath at the top of the sac. I do not know whether the isopod, 18, bears up under zoological scrutiny. It is eyeless, like the Asellus, one of which it is supposed to represent, as far as I understood my informants. In No. 19, the crayfish, we note richly scalloped extremities and a tail fin. For eyes it has a pair of small knobs in which is pierced a fine little hole.

*171 323 532 176

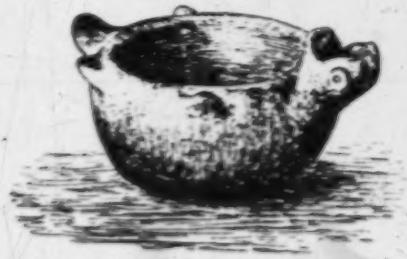


Fig. 89. Suyá toad-pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In conclusion I am adding a pot (diameter 10 X 15 centimeters) with a human representation! It is too much to demand, however, that anyone should suspect anything human about it. The woman artist who brought it to us shook with laughter over her creation. She wanted to make a toad-pot and had already copied the tail and leg projections, as well as the head with the bulging eyes of toad form. Then, when she was modeling the wide mouth and it happened to turn out open instead of closed, she noticed the similarity with the much-ridiculed lip disk of the despised Suyá, which stands out in front of the teeth of these Indians like a movable saucer. She laughed about it, set the stiff mouth flap neatly perpendicular to the toad face, and called the pot a "Suyá figure." Thus, for once, an ornament of the men was used as a motif by the women, analogous to the uluri motif, which was so popular among the gentlemen artists.

[304 186]

/24 cont./

a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells, and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians, the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there

30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/35 cont./

result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Paranatinga, Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B. 9870). (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized.

42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

323
[126]
[530]
[531]

/35 cont./ specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River

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most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B. 9957) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karíã, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /chapitas/ (V.B. 9956. Length of the plates, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 24, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 46 cm. Width 8 cm.

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Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must list neglect as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

[113]

44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

[P.72-A]

241 beans, *ipid;* peanuts, *orenj;* sweetpotatoes, *mahddo;* "carâ," *nâri;* maize, *dnji;* potatoes, *mâla;* cotton, *kodokiwe;* urucú, *dunto;* tobacco, *tsuwj;* piqui fruit, *ipa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
249 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown
276 for making hammocks and the various belts and strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapdki*).
[258] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a non-alcoholic beverage. The Bacairi claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
[275] extent. Women wove mats (*anapdo*) out of various
[276] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairi

[P 02-B]

Bacairi

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairi pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [573] were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairi claim that they [571] formerly had decorated pottery called *awipa*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairi also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
24/ munal houses, participated. The *kwatá*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre-
[218] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
423 for the workers. The new field would remain the
476 property of the man who initiated the *kwatá*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

345 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. [538] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *eukalawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

24/ Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

423 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*kalái*) were
[538] organized by the chief of the village. During
476 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[633] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever canoe goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is eaten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Importeria has been brought back as curiosities to the Kalapalo. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The bags worn that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluene. It is claimed that clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kalapalo.

For the old hammock made of palm leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kalapalo. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluene, but in some cases I do find the statement that its blood groupings must belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacairi 327
Yagua 525 y

The absence of good clay perhaps is responsible for the poorness of the industry, for tribes of the same linguistic stock in other parts make good pottery.

The most common form has a circular base and a turned out rim. The sides are thick, and the pots are disproportionately heavy. The clay fires black. In many cases the outside of the pot is painted. The top of the out-turned rim often bears simple incised designs, such as are seen on Plate XX, 12. These pots are used in the preparation of manioc farina and in boiling piki. To the Hokaiti they were so valuable that they begged to be permitted to take several of them back to Simão Lopes. [Plate XII, 2.]

Smaller pots are made, sometimes with different shaped rims, such as were collected by Von den Steinen. They are comparatively rare and do not seem to have much importance in the culture. A great many of the pots are traded from the tribes further north.

Other Receptacles

However, good substitutes for pottery have been found in calabashes and gourds, which are obtained in almost any quantity and are of any desired size. They further have the advantage of being light and do not break easily. They can be made to serve as bottles, dishes, cups, spoons, and every other kind of receptacle, by cutting off a section of the neck, or a section on the side, or by splitting in two along the neck to the base. The inner surface is charred and often decorated with painted red dot designs, the most common of which is a cross made by the crossing of two sets of two parallel lines of dots. Some of the other typical designs are shown in Plate XXIII. The outside of the receptacles are also often decorated—never with red dots, but always with linear painted geometric patterns. A few are also shown in the same Plate.

A great variety of basketry exists, being made in many shapes, utilizing divers weaves, and are used for many purposes. The carrying basket has been described. Another common type is a circular flat bottomed basket of hexagonal weave. It is of especial interest since this type can be duplicated in Oceania, Africa and other regions. For temporary purposes, a basket is quickly made from a single palm leaf by braiding the leaflets together. A number of intricate weaves are known producing interesting basketry designs. [Plate XXI.]